

UNIQUE EXAMPLE OF REVOLUTIONARY DETERMINATION

—Lakhs of people take pledge to fulfil
The behest of the great leader of the
Proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Proletarian Era

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Recalling from the teachings of Comrade SHIBDAS GHOSH on People's Liberation Pledge Day

Political independence of the country that we have achieved has got to be protected and defended, at the sametime with untiring efforts we are to make all out preparation for revolution. It is not true that because we have attained freedom, the question of

people's liberation, the question of revolution does no more arise. Similarly, it is also not true that since we have attained freedom the question of peoples' liberation, the question of revolution is resolved thereby. Those
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On 5th of August, defying incessant heavy rains for consecutive days, despite full swing work of cultivation of the peasants in the field and very many other odds and obstacles, they came in thousands all the way to Saheed Minar Maidan, to renew their pledge in memory of their great teacher, leader and guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Agricultural labourers, poor and lower-middle class peasants, factory workers, employees, students, youths, working women, teachers, professors and other intellectuals—toiling people from all walks of life came in determined steps—wave after wave, unfurling the red banner and holding high the portraits of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great architect of Indian revolution.

The call of the revolutionary thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is reaching far and wide and the oppressed and humiliated multitude are finding in it the road to life and emancipation from the bondage of capitalist slavery and exploitation amidst darkness of political deception and treachery by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and politicians. The great revolutionary teachings and guidance of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is the lighthouse of hope and future amidst this darkness.

The Saheed Minar Maidan was proved too short to accommodate the vast gathering which spilled over to adjoining areas of the Esplanade and looked like a vast sea of humanity. In spite of the Maidan being muddy people stood there all attention to the speeches till the end. The dais, artistically decorated was all red and in the middle was the big portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Wreaths were placed on this portrait by Party leaders, leaders and organisers of different State and District Party units and frontal organisations, from Party and frontal journals and large number of admiring personalities standing in long queue lasting for more than an hour.

Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee in his brief introductory speech conveyed revolu-

General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, Comrade Sachin Banerjee placed wreath to pay tribute to this great leader of the proletariat.

After this, The DYOM music squad presented the song composed on the great leader and teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. K O M S O M O L (young communist wing of the SUCI) and DSO presented the Guard of Honour to the great teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. This was really very unique and inspiring because the knee-deep mud was no obstacle to the marchers who were trained with his great teachings to break through all odds in the path.

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KOMSOMOL, the young communist wing of the Party extending their Red Salute to the beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh on 5th August at Saheed Minar Maidan. (On the dais from left) Members of the Central Committee Comrades Sachin Banerjee, Hiren Sarkar, Pritish Chanda, Shankar Singh and leaders of the West Bengal State Committee.



Comrade Sachin Banerjee, inaugurates "Quotation Exhibition" based on the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

A glimpse of the World of his Revolutionary Teachings

The historic course of our people's struggle for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts gets a new direction in this era in the life of the great leader of the proletariat, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. His thoughts reveal the truth of life in all its aspects. That is why they apply so decisively to all spheres of human endeavour. His thoughts encompass the whole category of epistemology. That is why they illumine all spheres of human activity. His thoughts embody the concept of the noblest of ethics, morality and culture he practised in life. That is why they unfold a deeper meaning of life to humanity. Departing from us **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** lives amidst us in his thoughts. He is with us and will ever be with us. His thoughts are the living expression of his great revolutionary life. They beacon us to our revolutionary goal. That is why their impact is so deep on the people, their appeal so permeating, so inspiring. The toiling people are gravitating in ever increasing numbers towards his thoughts.

As a part of the programme for observance of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day** on the 5th of August last, an exhibition of some gleanings from the thoughts of the great leader of the proletariat was organised by the West Bengal State Committee of our party at the Prajnanananda Hall, Calcutta, during August 1st to 3rd. Streams of people from all walks of life visited the exhibition. They left the exhibition place overwhelmed by the impact of the thoughts of our great leader, teacher and guide. Many of them recorded their request to the Party in the Visitors' Book to bring out a compilation of the quotations from the thoughts of the outstanding Marxist thinker of this era in order to facilitate the development of the people's consciousness. Many requested for an immediate publica-

tion of his entire Works. And many more urged the Party to hold the exhibition at as many places in the urban and rural areas as possible so as to reach the greater section of the people with the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

Inaugurating the exhibition, Comrade Sachin Banerjee, Member, Central Committee of our Party, recalled the great revolutionary significance of the thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**: "Realisation of truth, its constant pursuit in life without fear and making every effort to apply it in practice—such were the basic traits of the character of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, an outstanding Marxist thinker and our beloved leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary of our Party. Whatever

his realisation of truth urged him to do, he led an uncompromising struggle to give shape to that in practice. So we find that he did not hesitate for a moment to take on the historic responsibility of building a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in India as soon as he had realised that for the complete emancipation of the exploited masses of India revolution was indispensable and that there was no genuine Marxist-Leninist party to lead it. Struggling against countless hurdles and braving all odds, he built up our Party, the SUCI, under whose banner we have assembled here today. In the course of building up this genuine Marxist-Leninist Party he enriched the Marxist theory further. In this way whenever any problem arose in any sphere of epistemology—whether science, philosophy, ethics, art, literature or any such field—he correctly solved them through the process of struggle by applying the Marxist methodology. And through this process he not only developed and enriched Marxism, he elevated the realisation of Marxism to a newer height. When he realised that modern revisionism and reformism was the main danger to the international communist movement he pointed to the correct way in which to conduct an intense ideo-

logical campaign against it. In the national sphere, the concrete reality we face today is that of economism and social democracy in various guises eating into the vitals of the working class movement. He had alerted the toiling people of this danger long back and upheld the banner of Marxism to guide the working class movement on the correct road while conducting an intense ideological struggle against the danger.

The treasury of knowledge he has bequeathed to us acquired through his life-long struggle is really boundless. It is not only the asset of India alone, not only guides the anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country, it is an invaluable asset of the world proletariat as a whole. We must, therefore, spread the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** in every direction in the national as well as the international sphere in the interest of the emancipation of the toiling people. I must say that all those who aspire for revolution and the complete emancipation of the people, carry to them the thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. I believe all who have assembled here will take it on themselves as their mission of life to spread the thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**."

The exhibition gave only a glimpse of the thoughts of our great leader. The hall is small and only some hundred quotations from the vast treasure of thoughts could be accommodated. The selection covered some of the teachings on the Left and democratic movement, on the question of the Indian revolution, on the role of the social democratic parties and the danger of fascism, on the genuine revolutionary character and the proletarian culture, on ethics and morality, and on the Party. His clarion call to the students, youth, workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people could also be heard among the exhibits.

Going round the exhibition, the visitors are acquainted with the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. On one occasion **Comrade Ghosh** reminds the people: Although devotion is the basis of all achievements, we cannot win our struggles by devotion alone. To be victorious what we essentially need are a correct principle and ideology and a correct base political line. **Comrade Ghosh** also cautions the people: Agitation, sporadic outburst spontaneous movement, however much they may be widespread, so long the masses remain unorganised and lack in an adequate level of political consciousness—

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"Quotation Exhibition" leaves a deep imprint on the visitors

(Contd. from Page 2) the agitational form of movements cannot go very far.....Only the parties, which are just parliamentary parties, will capitalise on this sort of movements to achieve their sectarian interest in parliamentary politics. So, if you sincerely want to channelise your movement to the revolutionary goal, you need for that: first, a correct revolutionary line; second, a genuine revolutionary party in order to apply this revolutionary line correctly and third, a revolutionary alliance of the toiling masses as an instrument for conducting your revolutionary struggles.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh points out: Those in our country who do not fight against capitalism, or who have no anti-capitalist revolutionary programme, however much may they be canting Marxism-Leninism, their opposition to the Congress has no difference to that of the parties like the Jana Sangh, Congress (O), SSP etc. The revolutionary acumen of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is wonderfully evident in his observation some fifteen years back which clearly foresaw: "The appearance of fascism in democratic forms through two party parliamentary system of government is certainly a post-war social phenomenon having no historical precedence. Because of its seemingly democratic appearance it is at the same time most deceptive. And in fact it has been able to deceive many so-called intellectuals who try to recognise fascism by its form and not by content."

When we judge the attitude of the 'Left Front' Government to mass movements and read the direction of its policies, we realise how true has come the analysis of **Comrade Ghosh**: "...those communist parties...who are communists in name only, but social democratic parties in practice, do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties.. while waving the

red banner and moving under the cover of Marxism". On the question of what should be the correct approach of a genuine 'Left Front' when it is in the Government in the present setup **Comrade Ghosh** teaches us: Whenever any reform or change is urgently called for in the interest of social progress and from the principle of legitimacy, but the same goes against the class interest of the bourgeoisie, these bourgeois democrats raise a hue and cry that in order to be legitimate it must conform to legality; otherwise, they hold, there is no meaning of the concept of 'the rule of law'. They say this not merely from their ignorance about the relationship between legitimacy and legality but out of their deliberate class motive.

Time and again **Comrade Ghosh** has pointed out the character of the genuine revolutionary consciousness without which it is impossible to lead the peoples' movements to their historic goal: "Simply to speak of revolution is no revolutionary consciousness. So again, to speak for the working class, for the proletariat, this too is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness, and the correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness."

On another occasion he reminds us: "It is not so much important whether a party talks of great ideologies. Whether the ideal it preaches is really great or not is proved by whether the leaders, workers and supporters of the party reflect a high standard of ethics and culture in their personal day-to-day and political behaviour." He further reminds: "The basic teaching of ethics should be that before asserting any right one will have to, first of all, fulfil one's obligations toward society."

Comrade Ghosh teaches us the nobility of

Marxism with his unforgettable words: "The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy, any worthy ideology, lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. Its kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in its cultural and moral values". He calls upon the students, youths, workers, peasants and all sections of the toiling people: "Remember, we are all mortal beings. So, if to die, don't die begging. When to die, die with honour, and you have got only one surest way to live and die with honour, that is taking active part in revolutionary struggles of the masses in bringing revolutionary transformation of the society".

Thousands of visitors entered the exhibition hall, moved past the quotation-exhibits stopping before each, reading it intently and then taking a thoughtful step to the next. It was a moving scene of deep response and profound respect.

One of them quietly wrote down in the Visitors' Book: 'The path shown by **Shibdas Ghosh** is the only one which can advance society. I accept it as my ideology'. Another wrote: One thing that strikes me after going round the exhibition is that **Shibdas Ghosh** had an immense love for the common people. He was a true and great patriot.' Some other remarks recorded in the book read: 'Such an exhibition makes me think of taking an active part in revolution'. 'I have gathered a clear picture of the country in this exhibition. I have gained a conception about the root cause of corruption and decline in culture in our life.' 'After seeing your exhibition I have discovered today with great wonder what are essential to learn and know in the course of life. These teachings are absolutely essential to know what is communism and to acquire the communist character. I have got it.' 'I had seen this quotation exhibition on an earlier occasion. Today I have gained

The Revolutionary Thoughts and Teachings of COM. SHIBDAS GHOSH remain as inexhaustible fountain of inspiration to the onward march of humanity

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Comrade Sachin Banerjee thereafter read out the homage sent for the meeting by the General Secretary of our Party, **Comrade Nihar Mukherjee**.

Now we give in brief the salient points of the speech of the main speaker **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, a member of the Central Committee of our Party.

Comrade Pritish Chanda's speech

Today is 5th August. Two years back we lost the giant Marxist leader and thinker **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. This day is also memorable because on this day the world proletarian movement lost another pioneer and monumental genius **Frederick Engels** as far back as 1895.

Today, we have assembled inspiration anew after going round it again'. 'Those who do not participate directly in politics, or who do not express themselves in favour of one or the other of the left parties, if they follow the words of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our people will stand to gain at least something from it'. 'I am convinced that the emancipation of the exploited masses can only come by following his thoughts'.

The thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** guide the Indian revolution. As his teachings reach the people they are coming together in ever increasing numbers under the banner of his noblest creation the SUCI—the only genuine revolutionary party in our country. We vow **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** we will never be failing in our duty to defend the revolutionary kernel of Marxism as is your behest.

led here to observe **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day**. We must, therefore, recall the great revolutionary teachings as also the concrete and living examples of high revolutionary ethics, morals and culture that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great teacher of the proletariat has left to us. His unique place in history will be remembered not only for his revolutionary genius in integrating and concretising the general principles of Marxism in the concrete conditions of Indian situation as also for its further elucidation and elaboration but for the new height to which he brought it to fill the gap that existed in many vital aspects in the post-Lenin period. His revolutionary thoughts and teachings will ever remain as the invaluable guide to revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of humanity from all sorts of bondage and exploitation.

Coming to the concrete political situation of the country and the invaluable analysis and guideline of the great teacher, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, **Comrade Chanda** recalled that it was left to his genius to show that in the post-world war situation, world capitalist system completely lost the relative stability of market which it enjoyed previously and faced with the third intense phase of crisis, the bourgeoisie as a class has been trying to stave off its impending collapse by resorting to fascist devices. Fascism, he showed, has appeared as the general feature in all capitalist countries, developed or relatively under-developed. The Indian bourgeoisie seized the state power at this

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General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee sends his homage to the Memorial Meeting of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Comrades,

"I cannot but feel pained for not being able to attend this memorial meeting of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our founder General Secretary of our Party, our leader, our teacher, guide and inspirer, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the age because of my illness and on the advice of the

doctors and the Central Committee of the Party.

"Today I remember those days of hard and tortuous struggles that our great leader undertook from the twilight of adolescence and youth in his life. Nothing could daunt him from doing whatever the realisation of truth urged him to do. No amount of adversity or difficulty could swerve him, could slacken his initiative from applying this realisation to practice. For, it was his firm conviction that to a revolutionary 'impossible' is a word that should not find place in his dictionary.

"The way he built up the only revolutionary party of the proletariat the SUCI in our soil, breaking through mountain-

high difficulties, adversities and obstructions all around, the indomitable revolutionary audacity and courage of conviction that he has shown in his unique revolutionary character of a giant Marxist leader, the complete identification of self with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat throughout his entire life and through all this, the vast treasure of revolutionary thoughts and teachings that he has left to us as historic contribution to Marxism-Leninism will ever remain as an inexhaustible fountain of inspiration to the onward and upward march of mankind. And his appearance as the great

architect of Indian revolution was in and through the process of formation of this revolutionary party of the proletariat in our soil.

"That is why, we must remember that the best way to pay our homage to this great revolutionary leader is to assimilate by constant cult his invaluable teachings, correct analysis and the vast treasure of knowledge acquired through his life-long struggle as also to apply them in our life and day-to-day struggles just to build ourselves worthy of accomplishing his unfulfilled tasks. 5th of August will ever remind us of this solemn revolutionary duty and responsibility and herein lies the true significance of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day**.

"He showed that in the third phase of intense general crisis of capitalist market, fascism has become a general feature in all the capitalist countries—in advanced as well as in relatively backward countries. Analysing the ideological, political and economic character of fascism he pointed out that fascism may manifest itself depending on place and time,

through naked dictatorship, under the facade of parliamentary democracy of one-party rule, or two-party or multi-party system. Long back he exposed the design of the ruling bourgeoisie and cautioned that it was conspiring to bring about fascism in our country under the cover of two-party parliamentary system.

"**Comrade Ghosh** also showed that in our country the two parties who are waving the flag of communism—the CPI and the CPI(M), are in reality acting as forces of compromise between labour and capital and it is he who warned that the parties practising revisionism and national communism, overtly or covertly, are the dangerous potential force to bring fascism. Reality is this, the CPI(M) today is striving hard to find its place as the third alternative besides the Janata and Congress in the general bourgeois scheme of two-party system by earning the blessings of the monopoly bourgeoisie, and for this it is taking steps and measures, showing such attitude to the vital problems in people's life including the question of language policy in edu-

cation as conform to the wishes and class interests of the ruling capitalist class. From their position in the governments, they are not only discouraging but in fact are suppressing mass movements both from outside and from within and have taken on their shoulders the responsibility of defending and giving an extra lease of life to moribund capitalist order in our country. **Comrade Ghosh's** warnings have come true to the very letters.

"It was he who urged upon the toiling masses to thoroughly expose and isolate these parties from the mainstream of democratic mass movements by conducting a fierce and unremitting ideological-political struggle as an indispensable revolutionary task for the success of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. He taught us that conducive to the correct revolutionary goal and objective—the more mighty democratic mass movements on legitimate demands of the oppressed people will be unleashed and through this process of struggles, the more the toiling people can

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th gathering at the Maidan on 5th August

Stand as "One Man" and strive hard to fill the void created

(Contd. from Page 4) build up their own instruments of struggle from the lowest level to the highest, the more and more these parties will be politically exhausted paving the way for the emergence of political power of the people as the real alternative before the country.

"Comrade Ghosh has imparted to us one of the most valuable lessons that no amount of sacrifice and sporadic outbursts of the masses can bring about their salvation unless those struggles of the masses are imbued with higher proletarian ethics and culture and they are guided under the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat with a correct base political line.

"Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that a real revolutionary political force cannot grow unless it is built up on the firm foundation of revolutionary morality, culture and ethics. He has appealed time and again to build up democratic mass movements on the edifice of higher proletarian culture. It is he who pointed out that nobody can grasp revolution and revolutionary ideology without attaining

the necessary standard of morals and ethics. What would be the real character of communist culture in the present era, how and where does communism differ from bourgeois humanism—Comrade Ghosh's searching analysis on all this has illumined the path of world communist movement even. In fact, he himself was the living embodiment of highest communist culture in all spheres of life.

Let all of us recall the solemn pledge the Central Committee of our Party undertook by quoting :

"We take vow to stand as 'One Man' and strive hard to fill the void created. He is and shall ever remain very much with us through his teachings. His name and teachings will endure as the living source of inspiration and beacon light to legions of revolutionaries who will fulfil the behest Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has left to us. Let all of us, thousands of disciples and admirers of Comrade Ghosh hold aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism by every drop of our blood.

Long Live Revolution !

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great teacher and guide of the proletariat !

Long Live SUCI !"

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historic juncture. So in the Indian society, the principal contradiction is between labour and capital. The insoluble contradiction of the capitalist economy of our country in which the bourgeoisie has been enmeshed is between the increasing productive capacity and the production relation in a society where production is guided by the motive force of maximisation of profit, and this contradiction is finding its expression in ever sharpening crisis of market. So, the principal focal point is this crisis-ridden capitalist productive system which stands as the roadblock of further progress and advancement of our society. The principal political task is to break the chain of capitalist exploitation in order to free not merely the proletariat as a class but along with it, other exploited strata, the creativeness of our people, the emancipation of entire society.

The crisis-ridden bourgeoisie is trying to buy time by all kinds of tricks and designs. It is resorting more and more to fascist devices which, as Comrade Ghosh has

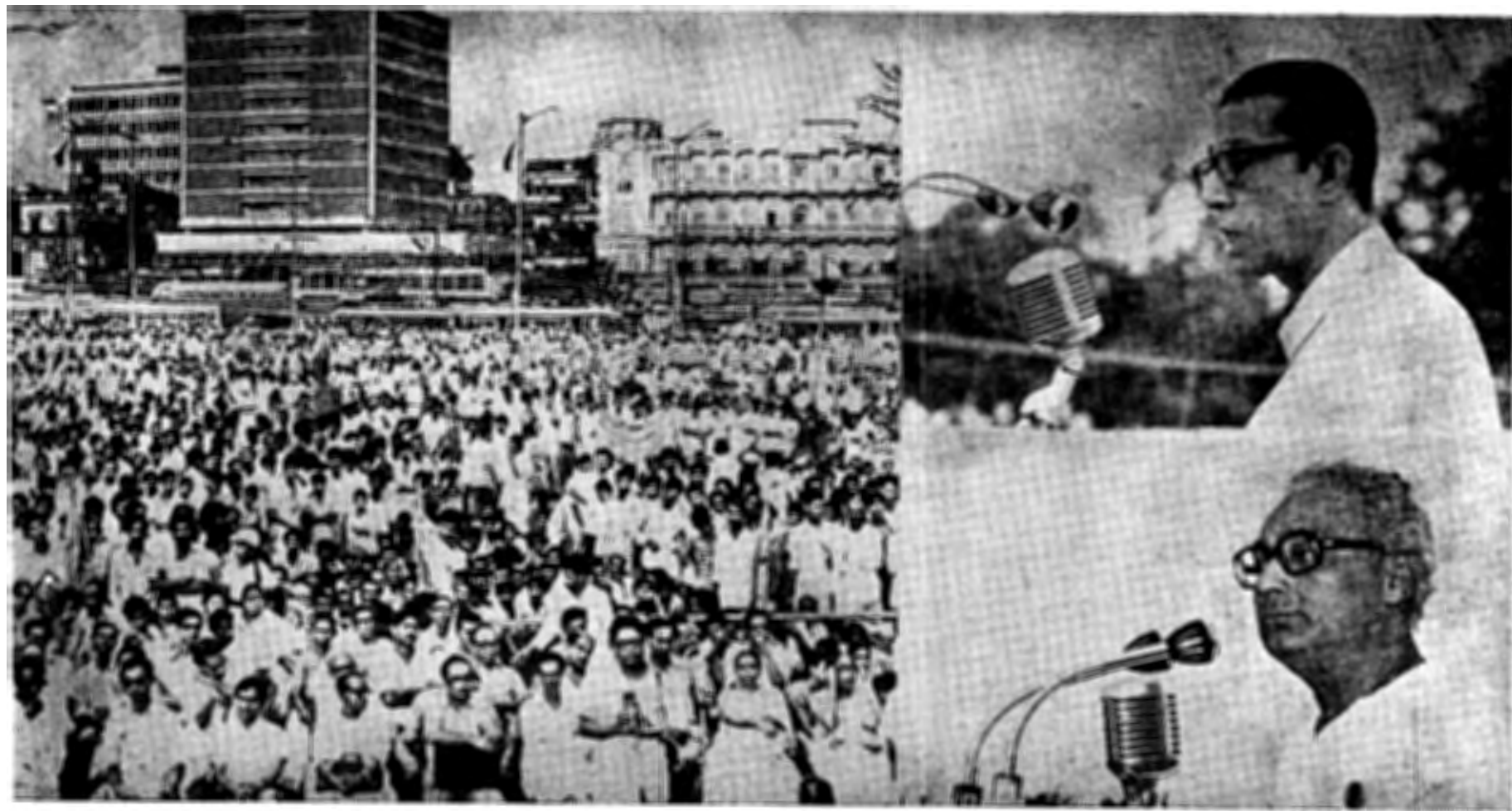
taught us do not mean mere naked dictatorship but more sophisticated forms like two-party system which it has introduced in our country in the last Lok Sabha poll.

The relative democratic norms and principles, relative neutrality in administration are steadily being eroded to yield place to administrative fascism, centralisation of political and economic powers, fusion of private monopoly capital with state monopoly capital and thereby reducing the state subservient to the monopoly capitalists, cultural regimentation and together with all these, social-democratic plans and programmes and vague talks of socialism to befuddle the exploited masses. Thus the bourgeoisie is trying to consolidate fascism in our country.

And in this class design of the ruling bourgeoisie, it is not only finding the branded bourgeois parties as the willing tools, it is also getting from the pseudo-left and pseudo-Marxist parties like the CPI and CPI(M), unstinted support and co-operation. These parties are also in the race, to be the defenders of this moribund

capitalist system by coming to power at the centre. This is the real intention behind the slogan of so-called 'left and democratic alternative' which the CPI(M) and CPI are raising. In this so-called unity of left and democratic forces of their contemplation the parties and groups of different varieties have place. Naturally our Party SUCI has no place in it. CPI(M) has no difficulty to be united with Janata party, Congress and even Congress (I), all branded bourgeois national parties, nor even with regional bourgeois or communal parties like AIADMK, DMK, Akali and Muslim League. They are all 'democratic' forces in the eye of CPI(M) leaders. Now when we talk of the problem of restoration, preservation and further extension of fundamental democratic rights and liberties of the people who can be the left and democratic forces with whom we can unite in our struggle? We can unite with those forces who are, if not adherents of communist ideology do not, at least, reflect anti-communist bias and hatred, take consistent anti-impe-

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During the gathering Comrade Sachin Banerjee (above) and Comrade Pankaj Chanda (below), members of the Central Committee.

Comrade SHIBDAS GHOSH appeared as the Giant Communist Leader of unique distinction in the process of building SUCI and defending the nobility of Communism

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rialist stand as also champion and support the legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people. Does this essential requirement square with CPI(M)'s selection of so-called, 'democratic' parties and forces? You can very-well judge for yourselves. Then who are the 'leftists'? We know only those can call themselves leftists who are anti-capitalist and pro-people. It is essential for the leftists if they are genuinely so to stand in resolute defence of people's inalienable right to organise movements, even militant mass movements against the capitalist tyranny and exploitation. They will not raise the bogey of 'law and order', 'peace' 'discipline' etc. which are nothing but bourgeois tricks to deprive the oppressed masses from exercising even the right to raise their heads against exploitation and thus a clever device to perpetuate bourgeois class rule of unbridled exploitation. So to stand in defence of democratic movements of the people is the minimum that is expected of those who call them leftist whether they are in the government or in the opposition. This is the invaluable teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. In fact this is one of his positive contributions to proletarian politics. In 1967 when the United Front Government was installed in West Bengal for the first time, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, provided the clear-cut approach and guideline which are to be adhered to by the genuine leftists if they come to government through parliamentary majority. This concrete approach and guideline mark the distinction of the government run by the genuine leftists from the one of branded bour-

geois parties.

What should be the basic difference between a genuine left government and the government run by a bourgeois party like Congress within this bourgeois set up? Applying concretely the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism to this specific situation, for the first time in history, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** our great teacher and guide set down that the guiding principle of administration of a genuine left government should be in its unequivocal declaration and strict observance of the policy that "police shall not interfere in the legitimate democratic mass movement."

Comrade Ghosh showed that those who are genuine leftists cannot enter into a bourgeois care-taker government just to practise bourgeois legalism-reformism and perpetuate the rule of the bourgeoisie. They should go there with the definite purpose of utilising the situation to develop militant mass movements from an approach of legitimacy of the issues as distinguished from an approach of bourgeois legalism. So, the first and foremost duty of the genuine left government should be to restrain the police and bureaucracy, free the democratic mass struggles from their interferences and relying on peoples instruments of struggle and mass initiative, patronise and encourage every legitimate struggle of the people.

We are proud that our great teacher and leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** made this very significant contribution to proletarian movement in solving a concrete problem in our country. He enunciated this principle as far back as in 1957 when the Namboodiripad ministry was installed in Kerala and showed the utterly revisionist role of that

government. For obvious reason, the revolutionary guideline to this concrete situation could not be found in the Marxian classics nor could the communist parties of other countries particularly of West European countries as also by those who go by that name in our country although they had to face the same situation in the past as they are facing at present.

What we are finding at present? CPI(M) is running the governments in two States, West Bengal and Tripura and the CPI is in coalition government in Kerala. CPI(M) is in collaboration with Janata Party which from the centre is defending the aggregate class interest of the bourgeoisie and call it a 'friendly party'. CPI is in collaboration with Congress which was the principal bourgeois party defending the same interest in the best possible way for thirty years. Both these parties are in political alliance with the principal bourgeois parties of the country and are in friendly competition with these parties in bourgeois parliamentary politics. Much before coming to governmental power in West Bengal, CPI(M) leaders were assuring the bourgeoisie of their stand against mass movements, against gherao and strike of the workers in their bid to defend bourgeois law and order and ensure the most congenial atmosphere for unbridled exploitation by the bourgeoisie. They came, so to say, to a political understanding with the bourgeoisie behind the screen which is coming to light from their behaviour, attitude and policies in the government and outside. They are not only arresting people's legitimate democratic movements both from within and outside the government but in fact

are crushing them by the most brutal measure. After the Santaldih operation, the Chief-minister of West Bengal who is a Politbureau member of CPI(M) boastfully claimed like an autocrat that 'firmness pays'! After firing upon the poor and helpless Dandak refugees in Burdwan, the same Chief minister refused to hold a non-official enquiry demanded by our party but threatened to prosecute the refugees for killing a police! What is it if it is not the same authoritarian tone and voice which the country heard during the Emergency? And yet this party is crying hoarse over restoration of democracy! The same party from its position in the government of West Bengal is robbing the educational institutions and universities of the last vestiges of autonomy and freedom, wiping out the minimum democratic norms and principles from the administration, introducing counter-revolutionary policies in all spheres including such fields like education and language question.

From all this, any serious political worker must draw the appropriate political lesson and for this the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** will be their invaluable guide. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** warned long back that the bourgeoisie will pick up only those parties in the government who can best defend and serve their class interest and design. When there is the ever-mounting discontent of the masses whose life becomes unbearable in the midst of eversharpening crisis of the capitalist productive system, and when the branded bourgeois parties are failing to hold the masses in capitalist subjugation by crude tactics, the bourgeoisie are picking up those parties who are opposing the red banner while holding the red banner and are defending the ruling class and the moribund capitalist system with more social democratic skill and sophistication. **Comrade Ghosh** gave

the most important caution that in the present phase of most acute crisis of capitalism and bitterest class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat these revisionist parties under cover of pseudo-Marxist jargons and vocabularies and the flag they wave are potentially the most dangerous force for fascism. Revisionism today, internationally, is the main danger before the revolutionary proletarian movement and it is the most urgent and bounden duty for the revolutionaries and progressive forces within a country to expose and totally isolate these revisionist parties from the mainstream of peoples' legitimate democratic mass movements. Revisionism-social democracy is the last prop of capitalism without overthrow of which, overthrow of capitalism is not possible.

Comrade Chanda appealed to those workers and supporters of CPI and CPI(M) who still cherish the dream of revolution and emancipation of the exploited masses to take this analysis and observations of our party as criticism and self-criticism within the camp of democratic mass movements. He reminded them that it is one of the most vital teachings of Marxism-Leninism that criticism and self-criticism is like the life-breath for a communist and so no communist worth the salt should shy away from it. As communists, we are in search of truth which can be attained through ideological struggle conducted correctly. Criticism and self-criticism is for correcting the mistakes and removing the evil trends within the movement. Without rectification of mistakes the establishment of the correct line in the leaderships of the movement, the class and the masses will suffer betrayal and treacheries again and again at the hands of those who are enemies under the cloak of their friends and leaders. That is why

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us the all importance of a correct base political line, higher proletarian ethics and morals and the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. SUCI alone represents all this in our soil and in it lies the only hope of the toiling people. Don't waste your precious life and energy over the bankrupt social democratic parties. Join your force with SUCI—the finest creation of a revolutionary genius like **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Strengthen the force of revolution. Hasten the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed masses and the liberation of the society from capitalist bondage.

Red Salute

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !
Long Live His Immortal
Revolutionary Thoughts
Teachings and invaluable
guidance !

Long Live Revolution !
Long Live SUCI !

Comrade
Ashutosh Banerjee

President of the meeting **Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee**, a member of the West Bengal State Secretariat while answering many questions and dispelling many confusions deliberately circulated from interested circles, pinpointed the essence of revolutionary proletarian ethics and culture drawing copiously from the thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

In his speech **Comrade Banerjee** said: **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is our most beloved and revered leader, teacher and guide. As a disciple of that great teacher I am to remind you at the outset that not as an empty ritual we observe this day. On this day, the great leader of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** breathed his last. We know that nobody is a born revolutionary. The struggle to be a revolutionary and to remain as revolutionary is a continuous, ceaseless struggle, a struggle so to say, for every moment till the

The bourgeois conspiracy of consolidation of fascism under cover of two-Party system was the very important warning given by **COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**, long ago

last breath in one's life. Any real and total evaluation as to whether an individual passes the test of being a revolutionary till he breathes his last can only come after his death.

A giant communist leader and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, our most beloved leader and teacher **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** was not only a life-long revolutionary but has set-up through his life a unique and concrete example of total dedication of life to the great cause of emancipation of the proletariat. His life, in minutest details, in all aspects, reflects proletarian ethics, morality and culture of unprecedented height and dimension. That is why 5th of August is the fit occasion to recollect and assimilate to our benefit the concrete examples from his great revolutionary life and the great revolutionary teachings, he has left to us. This is the best way in which we can pay our homage to this great revolutionary, this great man of history. This is how the Marxist-Leninists evaluate the role of an individual giant revolutionary personality in history.

We are to realise that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** was not merely a politician in the conventional sense. He is a maker of history; he is a revolutionary genius. Revolution does not stop anywhere, it passes from stage to stage. Correct grasping of revolution guides us how to advance the society from stage to stage of developments, resolving the problems—the contradictions and conflicts within the society from each stage of social development to the higher one. That is why it is all the more essential for us—the proletariat and the toiling people to correctly appraise and evaluate the thoughts and teachings of this revolutionary genius which act as the real leader, unfailing and in-

valuable guide to the struggle for revolutionary transformation of our society at this phase of social movement. And I make bold to say that the great revolutionary thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** are not merely essential and invaluable guide to anti-Capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country but will continue to be so for long time to come even after the revolution. Herein lies the unique distinction and position this giant Marxist thinker occupies in history.

He has left behind the vast treasury of revolutionary thoughts and teachings covering all the contemporary national and international problems and embracing all aspects of life by concretising, elaborating as also enriching Marxism-Leninism to a new height. They remain as an invaluable guide to revolutionary movement in the post-Lenin period.

So, when we observe this memorial, we do not indulge in personality cult. Those who say so do not understand what is cult of individual and also fail to understand the role of individual in history. For, ideas and thoughts of a thinker are inseparable from the thinker himself. Ideas and thoughts just do not float in the air. They need a medium, the brain of a thinker through which they come to the people. As the guiding force of a movement within the society revolutionary thoughts and ideas come through the great teachers and leaders like Marx, Engels, Lenin. Can we, therefore, understand Marxism without understanding Marx and his life's struggle? Would anybody call evaluation of Marx's place in history a personality cult? Without understanding the struggles and life's experiences of Lenin and Stalin can anybody have clear and precise conception about rev-

sionist and Trotskyite deviations and errors in the revolutionary working class movements? So is the place of Mao. His struggles against all sorts of deviations and distortions in revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people are to be properly assimilated in correlation with his life's struggles and experiences. That is why he is called the great architect of Chinese revolution. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's** life and struggles are interwoven with Indian revolution and he is its great architect. For this, those who will join the ranks of revolutionaries in our soil need to know and assimilate the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, thoroughly so as to be able to translate them in their life in all its aspects. They must realise that the life-long revolutionary struggle of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is not merely the struggle of an isolated and individual struggle but it was a struggle involving all in the process of formation of this party. It is a unique struggle to hold high and establish the nobility of communist ideology in concrete form, in life and practice. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has taught us:

"The Kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal; its Kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal is also ingrained in its cultural and moral values". That is why he often said that "Had I not found in communist ideology higher and nobler ethics, culture and values I would never have been a communist"

And it is on this firm foundation of higher proletarian ethics and morals translated in all aspects of our life that we can transform and remould our characters as true

revolutionaries, as the creators of new civilisation. That is the reason why a genuine communist party adopts the very process following which one can transform oneself into true revolutionary by complete merger of self with the cause of revolution and a genuine proletarian party being the living embodiment of revolution, by complete identification with it.

The life of a communist, **Comrade Ghosh** has taught us, must be like open book before the party, the class and the masses. He must not have anything personal which he cannot place before the party. It is the teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that: "To a communist there is no artificiality in his love for the people. No separate entity of love exists in him for his near and dear ones, his love for them in reality manifests itself in his love for the people. From his endless love for the proletariat he completely identifies his deeper and finer emotions of love, affection, sympathy and compassion with the cause of revolution making them completely free from the narrow bounds of individualism."

But what has been the curse in the working class movement in our country, **Comrade Banerjee** pointed out, is the absence of conscious movement and efforts to integrate this ethical-cultural struggle with the politico-economic struggles. **Comrade Banerjee** appealed to the rank and file of CPI and CPI(M) to see for themselves wherein lies the failure of their leaders. It is the failure to attain the necessary standard of morals and ethics on their part to make themselves completely free from individualism through a constant and continuous struggle to remould their outlook of life basing on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it is their failure to build up revolutionary politics on the edifice of higher proletarian culture as also their failure to grasp the

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Recalling from the Teachings of COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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who say that revolution means bringing chaos inside the country, hampering production, obstructing the progress of the country—are all liars. Because, the object of revolution is not to hamper production. On the contrary, revolution is for freeing production from the crisis and recession—the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system; it is for freeing science from the profit making motive of capitalism. The crisis of market, the crisis of economy that is generated is the inevitable outcome of the greed of the capitalist class, their earning of maximum profit by cheating the workers. It is for freeing the economy and production from this profit motive and opening up the road of uninterrupted development of production that revolution is necessary. In a revolutionary upsurge, production temporarily gets hampered because the bourgeois state or the agents of bourgeoisie bring down an armed and violent counter-offensive against the revolution. So, it does by no means and in no way prove that the object of revolution is to hamper production from the fact that in a temporarily chaotic condition production may get hampered. Rather on the contrary, the object of revolution is to free production. And those who oppose it, do so because they do not want to open up the road for uninterrupted development of production. And production is hampered more because they create such obstructions. So, it is clear that it is not the object of any organised revolutionary movement to hamper production. Rather, the object of revolutionary movement is to free the productive forces from the greed and profit making motive of the capitalist class and to open up the road for an uninterrupted growth of production.

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Now, merely shouting the word 'Revolution' will not help crystallising the revolutionary movement. For that, the legitimate democratic movements of the people should have to be organised on correct base political line against various sorts of exploitation, oppression, coercion and injustice. Through the conduction of these movements the revolutionary organisation of the people and their own instruments of struggle are to be built up. A clear concept about the revolutionary leadership is to be instilled in the minds of the people. We must remember that for the success of revolution the vast majority of our people between those who will be directly participating in the revolutionary movement and the forces of reaction opposing the revolution must take the position of benevolent neutrality that is, they will not oppose the revolution.

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In the perspective of this if a Left Government worth its name wants to run the government guided by genuine outlook of legitimacy, if it wants to resist the internal pressure of the bourgeois state machine—then it must have to support firmly and help actively the legitimate movements of the people, even though these may go against the existing law. Whether any movement on any demand is legitimate, moral and humane depends upon as to whether that is compatible with the interest of the majority and conducive to social progress. Judged from this perspective if a mass movement is found to be legitimate and principled, even though illegal in the eye of the existing laws then attempts must be made to change that law.....

..... The law that has been a privilege in the

hands of the capitalist class, has been turned into an instrument of privilege in the hands of privileged class—how can legitimacy and morality be made victorious if we serve that same law, sing its song of praise? How can the new laws develop without new concept of legitimacy? How can new laws take shape to be conducive to newly emerging social urges, people's interest and human progress? That is why people's movement must be developed and organised so as to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon for discarding bad laws and replacements of those by new ones..... For this reason, those who talk loudly of democracy, progress and people's interest must stand four square in defence of people's legitimate movement even if it oversteps the prevailing concept of legality. Otherwise, democracy loses all its relevance. Otherwise, it means in actuality an unashamed advocacy for the existing exploitative capitalist order and to stand in loud defence of this law or legality without caring to analyse whether this conforms to the ends of legitimacy as did all the despotic rulers in the past..... There are some, who just like the despots of all ages are saying—that remaining in the governmental power one cannot support any movement, even if that is legitimate. By this what they mean—that debates and discussions can go on the subject "whether whatever is legal is necessarily legitimate or not" but the ministers or the government cannot be guided by this policy. This will mean then that those who are in the government have forfeited all their rights to do what is humane. It would also mean that only they are suitable in the government who are used to such inhuman activities. If this be the other name of running a government then, need we

When the branded bourgeois parties get exposed, the pseudo-left parties become the choice of the bourgeoisie as the third alternative for the rescue of the crisis-ridden capitalism

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base political line of Indian revolution.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh was deeply concerned and shocked to see the fast disappearance of ethics morality and finer sense of human values from all walks of life starting from mass movement, political behaviours of the leaders of parliamentary parties, and even from families. His was life-long struggle to establish morality in public life. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, has taught us: "Even a starving nation can stand up against injustice if it possesses human values". But the pseudo-Marxist parties are pushing large number of their cadres and the people following them to frustration as they are fast losing their faith and confidence in the leaderships of these parties who are indulging in worst sort of opportunism. The dream of revolution with which these cadres might have joined in the movement dashes to the ground when they find from bare experiences, the real face of their leaders, their

have this kind of a government?

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..... A genuinely Left Government will have to courageously apply whatever power it has to control bureaucracy in the interest of the people. It must, under no circumstances, surrender to the pressure of the bureaucracy. With firmness the police should be compelled to follow the progressive policies of the government. The legitimate mass movements should be kept free from police interference. By following these policies how long it shall be able to remain in the power—a genuine Left Government cannot allow itself to be perturbed by such questions.

personal conducts and life styles, the double standard they maintain—one for the people and the other for their personal life and even party life.

Comrade Banerjee appealed to these cadres in democratic mass movement to realise that the revolutionary thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and this party SUCI, can alone lead them to the most honourable life of a revolutionary and to the correct path of struggle. The sooner, they realise this truth and strengthen this real revolutionary party of the proletariat nearer will be the day of emancipation in our country.

After Presidents' speech, the DYO music squad presented the Internationale. An extract from the speech of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** recorded in his own voice in disc was relayed to the gathering.

Amidst thunderous slogans—"Long live the great teacher and guide of the proletariat **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**," "SUCI long live," the meeting came to a close.

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..... It is not possible to attain the emancipation of the toiling people from the capitalist state and the exploitative capitalist system by changing the government thousand times through election or even by amending laws. There is only one way to attain the emancipation—that is, to develop gradually an invincible revolutionary organisation of the people by conducting the democratic mass movements in a correct revolutionary method. There is no other way for the emancipation of the people. To follow any other way would be sheer wastage of time and is mere self-deception.

Editor-in-Chief—**NIHAR MUKHERJEE**

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